

Great Britain & Ireland George III.
No 11 A N H. D. P. O. 12

APPEAL

TO THE

UNPREJUDICED,

Concerning the present

DISCONTENTS

Occasioned by the late

Convention with *SPAIN*.

L O N D O N:

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A N
A P P E A L
T O T H E
Unprejudiced, &c.

IT ought to be the great Concern of the People not to be deceived. When they are deceived, they are soon inflamed; when angry, unfit to judge; when very angry, unable to judge at all, but at the Mercy of him who leads them, his blind Slaves, fit to be his ready Tools in all Strains of Folly and Mischief. He need only loudly repeat in their Ears any favourite Sound, *Religion, Liberty, Trade*; and by that very Sound so bewitch them as to make them sacrifice and destroy the Substance for the Name, grow impious in Defence of Religion, Slaves in behalf of Liberty, vindicate Lyes in pursuit of Truth,

grow idle and licentious for the Interest of Trade and Industry, and Beggars out of Zeal for their Interest and Wealth. Crazy Men guide them by the Force of Craziness ; cunning Men lead them by abusing them ; and the lowest Libellers incense them against their best Friends, by coarse Noise and Lying.

Under this Tumult of Spirit, when Faction, nay, when the lowest Tools of Faction, drive and agitate them as the Wind does the Waves, and just as passively and blindly ; when they have no Eyes of their own, and all their Passions and Movements are directed and swayed by others, by the Loudest, the Fiercest and the Falsest, they are ripe to follow any Impostor, to swallow any Lye or Contradiction, to adopt any cant Word, to eccho any senseless Cry, and to run zealously after such as cheat, and debauch, and abuse, and even undoe them.

All this is often accomplished by wretched and contemptible Instruments, mean Scriblers, ignorant Astrologers, spiteful Defamers, confident Misrepresentations, unmeaning Names and Nonsense, blackning the brightest Merit, brightning the blackest Characters, damning Truth and Sense, and deifying Madness and Folly.

Every

Every Man of Attention must find in his own Memory Instances of all this. Can there be a more flagrant one than Dr. *Sacheverel*, a foul-mouthed Railer and Fire-brand, condemned for Libelling the Government and Constitution, and preaching the grossest Doctrines of Slavery, yet the Idol of the Multitude, who were taught to consider this seditious, this irreligious Priest, as the great Bulwark of Religion. Was not this shocking? was it not shocking to see this Wretch, this crazy Reviler, adored by nine Parts in ten of the People; and at the same Time the great and worthy Lord *Godolphin*, that able, that upright Minister, popularly decried and cursed? It was indeed a melancholy Consideration, and deserves to be had in everlasting Remembrance.

This ill boding Turn was naturally produced by the Spirit of Party, long heated and kept in constant ferment by Party-Artifices and Party-Cries, especially the falsest and foolishlest of all Cries, that of the *Church's Danger*, a Cry long since become stale and a Matter of Jest, yet then too strong for Religion, and Law and Sense.

What Man in his Senses would have then appealed to the Judgment and Decision of the People in a Point about which they had

had been thus fired and transported? None surely, but such as were their Darlings for having made them thus distracted, and fond of a Race to Bondage; a Race, for which the earliest and best Qualifications are blindness and fury.

It therefore highly concerns the People (as it does every particular Man in the World) to be wary and upon their Guard against the Efforts of Party. There is a bewitching Spirit in it, catching and spreading like a Contagion, pushing them headlong like Men possessed: The infected fly the sober and the sound, with all proper Advice and Remedies; and, herding and conversing only with one another, grow worse and worse, madder and madder, delighting to be so, traducing and inveighing against all that are not equally mad, much more against such as are not mad at all.

In this Temper they must needs prejudice and mistake every thing that touches them, or which they are made to believe touches them, and talk as they judge, frantically about it.

I never saw them more misled, and hot, and unreasonable about any thing than about the present Convention with *Spain*; all for want of Temper and Attention, and by listening to angry Men only, whose Interest

terest and Study it was to misrepresent it, as it contributed greatly to their own Views to have it universally condemned, and exploded.

These angry Men have failed in their great Purpose; and as People begin to grow cooler, I hope they will read with Patience what I here offer them, as I think I can in a very short Compass fairly and clearly vindicate the Administration in every Step which they have taken about it.

After previous Trials with the *Spanish* Ministers for Redress of Grievances, we sent a Fleet to the Coasts of *Spain* to enforce our Demands of Satisfaction for Injults and Depredations. This was the Purpose of sending it. The *Spaniards* were alarmed, and offered to treat. Such Effect had the Appearance of that Fleet there. The *English* Ministers refuse to treat till Reparation for Losses, and Satisfaction for Injuries, were first granted by *Spain*. The *Spaniards* agree to this. This was a further Proof of the Use and Influence of our Fleet upon their Coasts.

The Accounts of our Merchants and their Demands are allowed. The first Computation of the Demands of *England* upon *Spain*, was Three hundred and forty odd thousand Pounds, including those Seizures
which

which had been examined by the Commissioners, as well as those that had been since made: But the Commissary Mr. St--t was of Opinion, that such Disallowances might be made on Account of unjust Claims, or of Claims over-rated, as would reduce the gross Sum to 200000 *l.* as a reasonable Satisfaction for the *English* Sufferers.

The Demands of the *Spaniards* upon *England* amounted to 180000 *l.* and the said Commissary thought that 60000 *l.* would be sufficient to answer their just Claims.

Upon this Foundation the reciprocal Satisfaction for past Damages on both Sides was negotiated; and as we would not be contented to accept the Cédulas that had been offered for Restitution to be made in the *West Indies*, or with Assignments upon the Chamber of Commerce at *Seville*, or on the Register Ships, or other Ships, or with any less Security than that of an actual Payment in Money of the Balance to the *British* Subjects, to be made in *London* in a short Time; it was stipulated by the 3^d Article of the Convention, that *Spain* should pay in *London* 95000 *l.* in the Space of four Months; and that Sum, together with the 60000 *l.* allowed to be due to *Spain* making in the Whole 155000 *l.* is intended

intended to be employed for the Satisfaction of the *British* Merchants, which is indeed an Abatement of 45000 *l.* on Account of the Certainty and Promptness of the Payment, which cannot fail of being punctually comply'd with, unless the unreasonable Clamours and Fury of the People, spirited up by the Art and Intrigues of wicked and ambitious Men, should be represented by those very Men in such a Light to *Spain*, as to perswade that Court, that a War with *Great Britain* would still be unavoidable, even after the Payment of that Money.

This Stipulation for making Satisfaction to us, on Account of *the Visiting, Searching, and taking Vessels, seizing Effects, &c.* as set forth in the Preamble of the Convention; joyned with that in the first Article of the same Treaty, by which it is declared, " that
 " the ancient Friendship so desireable, and
 " so necessary for the reciprocal Interest of
 " both Nations, and particularly with re-
 " gard to their Commerce, cannot be esta-
 " blished upon a lasting Foundation, unless
 " Care be taken not only to adjust and
 " regulate the Pretensions for reciprocal
 " Reparation of the Damages already suf-
 " tained, " but *above all* to find out Means
 to prevent the like Causes of Complaint for the
 B future,

future, and to remove absolutely and for ever every Thing which might give Occasion thereto : I say these Stipulations are not only an Acknowledgement of the Injuries done us, on Account of searching, visiting Ships, &c. by making actual Reparation for such Injuries ; but such an Earnest of a Disposition to prevent the like Injuries by finding out Means to remove the Cause of them for the future ; especially since the Time for negotiating this important Affair is limited to eight Months, that there could not possibly be, (if not prevented by unseasonable, and unjustifiable Clamours and Opposition at Home,) a more hopeful Prospect of having our Rights relating to our lawful Commerce and Freedom of Navigation in the *West Indies* ascertained and secured upon a lasting Foundation ; in as short a Time as the Nature of the Thing, and the Circumstances of the Pretensions on both Sides impartially considered, would allow.

For as the Complaints have been Reciprocal, the Remedy must be Reciprocal too.

Ours are justly founded upon the injurious Interruption of our free Navigation in the *American* Seas, and of our lawful Commerce to and from his Majesty's Dominions in those Parts, contrary to the Treaty of 1670. The *Spanish* Court as loudly cries out
against

against the Trade carried on in their Ports, and on their Coasts by *British* Subjects, protected by *British* Men of War, and encouraged by the Governors of the *British* Colonies, in direct Violation of what is stipulated in the same Treaty of 1670, and consequently they have as much Right to demand some Security, such at least as we have in our Power to give to prevent an illicit Trade, as we have to demand a farther Security from them to prevent illicit Seizures for the future; and can such Explanations as are necessary on both Sides to enforce the Execution of our respective Obligations, and hinder the Violation of them hereafter, be obtained without a new solemn Treaty? Or could such a Treaty be obtained without allowing a reasonable Time for negotiating it? And could a less Time than eight Months be allowed for such Negotiation with a Court at such a Distance, and so dilatory in all their Proceedings, tho' ever so well disposed to bring an Affair of such Consequence to a speedy Conclusion?

As the *Spaniards* therefore have made so many and so unusual Concessions; as they make no new Demands, but only contend for the Observation of past Treaties; and as we cannot claim any new Right, or

Explanation of our old Rights to our further Advantage, without a further and explanatory Treaty, I think there cannot be a clearer, there cannot be a more justifiable and honourable Foundation for one than the present Convention, for such a Treaty as may prevent all future Dispute, as far as the same can be prevented by any Treaty.

So far our Counsels, in spite of the Obloquy so freely and without all Measure or just Grounds, thrown upon them, have been sound and successful.

Besides the Effect of our Fleet upon the Court of *Spain*, it enabled our Merchants to withdraw their Effects from the *Spanish* Ports (a great Advantage, as such Effects are always very great there!) and occasioned at least as much Expence to the *Spaniards* as to us, by obliging them to equip all their Frigates and Ships of War, round their extensive Coasts; though it be generally understood, and confidently said, that whilst we were at such a great Expence, they were at none.

Such hath been the Use and Advantage of our Fleet; a wise and proper Use! Had any other Use been made of it, had we fallen headlong upon *Spain*, and begun a War, besides the certain Expence and Uncertainty

certainty of the Issue, all the *English* Effects there, now saved, would have been seized and confiscated, with all the *English* Ships, and all their Crews and Cargoes.

What would the Merchants have said then, what would the People have said (who are now made Judges, not of Trade only, but even of our Counsels) and above all, what would the Patriots have said, Men so vigilant to watch all publick Measures, and to teach the Populace to weigh and censure them?

That Fleet is still entire, still able and ready to act if Occasion should require. More Men of War are easily put into Commission: Our Squadron now in *America*, is to remain there. If the 95,000 *l.* allowed due to us upon the Balance, be not paid according to Stipulation, within little more than a Month from this Time, we are then free to break with *Spain*. The *Spanish* Galleons cannot return yet these five Months. So that we have still Time enough to do ourselves Justice, if the Treaty should prove abortive.

I should have thought the Ministry mad and at the Mercy of their worst Enemies, had they proceeded to War before they had tried to treat; and I believe their Enemies would have thought so too. It
would

would have been a rash exposing of the publick Interest and Security as well as their own.

It would be sound Policy in a guilty and desperate Ministry to keep their Country continually plunged in War, as what best diverts the Attention of the Publick from themselves, and keeps the Minds of Men employed upon the Progress and Issue of their Arms, and leads their Anger and Resentments to the publick Enemy.

It is the Interest of the present Ministry to see their Country prosper; a happy Situation for the Country as well as for themselves! I defy any Man to shew that any publick Disaster can be of any Service to the Ministers: 'Tis plain they must be hurt by whatever would hurt the Publick. Nor can they give a greater Advantage to their Enemies, than by neglecting or not well maintaining the Interest and Dignity of the State. Such ill Conduct could only serve to undoe them and to exalt their Rivals.

It is therefore natural, however unjust, in the latter to decry and blast all the wisest Measures of the former; to represent the best as the worst, the most necessary as the most wilful, the highest Policy as the greatest Blunders.

A small Attention to what has been doing for some Years past, to what has been lately done, and what is now doing, to their Speeches and Writings, their Libels and Invectives, so full of Spight and Personality, will be sufficient to determine this Point.

Upon every Treaty we made, we were called the Bullies and Dupes of *Europe*, yet were daily upbraided with the Alliances made between other *European* Powers, especially those made by *France*. If we entered into Alliances, the Nation was bumbled : If we made none, we stood alone, and the Nation was weak and unsupported. We were ridiculous for doing, and silly for not doing, the very same Thing ; and whatever we did, or whether we did or did not, we were extremely guilty.

If we offered to remove publick Complaints, and cure national Grievances by cool Measures and Accommodation, we were tame and cowardly, and invited Insults by bearing them : If we threatned to redress them by War ; we were so taxed and impoverished, that we could not undertake it.

If the blackest Scurrilities and the most virulent Libels upon the Government were punished by Law, or threatned with legal Punish-

Punishment, though where such are not punished, no Government can subsist, Liberty was said to be in Danger, and even lost, as it ever must be where it is not secured by restraining of Licentiousness.

History has been drained for false Parallels, and such as ruled by known Laws, and never violated any Law, have been boldly compared to lawless Traitors; Resemblances have been found where there was and could be no Likeness, and monstrous Pictures drawn when there was no Original but in the Wantonness of Malice and a petulant Imagination.

Passionate and prejudiced Men have railed at the Government without Check, or Conscience or Shame, yet complained that we are all in a State of Slavery; though in any other Country but this, where Liberty hardly knows any Bounds, they must have forfeited their own Liberty, perhaps their Lives for such Invectives. I add, that such Men would have suffered capital Punishment, not only under Governments that are Arbitrary, but even under Governments that are reckoned the most Free. The Complaints therefore of these Libellers are a sufficient Confutation of all such Libels. I who from my Soul love Liberty and lament its Danger from such daily and notorious Abuse, observe

serve with Pleasure how much it prevails, by seeing so many furious and pestilent Invectives (though I detest them) still pass with Impunity.— A Privilege peculiarly ours, yet ungratefully endangered and prostituted amongst us. If ever we lose it, we know whom to thank.

Whilst they were preaching up Sedition and Disaffection, they had the Assurance to rail at the Laws against Sedition, and against Penalties which they were daily and daringly incurring.

They inveighed against general Corruption, yet confined it to the Influence of Money and Place, without having the Justice to own other Causes of Corruption much more universal and extensive ; Corruption from Want of Place ! (since more are soured with being out of Place than can be possibly gratified with the Possession or the Hope of Place) Corruption from disappointed Ambition, the most corrupt and vindictive of all Sorts of Ambition ! Corruption from an implacable and cankered Heart ! Corruption from Envy at such as enjoyed what others coveted, and for want of it indulged that bitter and gloomy Passion ! Corruption from Revenge in missing that Aim ! Corruption from a Spirit of Faction, ever passionate, peevish and
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unfair ! Corruption from Resentment for being out of Place ; since the Desire of Money and Place, corrupts as powerfully as the Enjoyment of Money and Place, perhaps more, seeing the former is often accompanied with Moroseness and ill Humour ! Lastly, Corruption from Vanity, from a Thirst of popular Fame, which is despicable when it rises either from Art or Folly.

They have had the unparalleled Presumption to persuade the World, that none but the Necessitous and Venal supported the Government, when not only a great Majority in Parliament, but Men, Numbers of Men of as high Honour and Integrity, as high Fortunes and Quality, as disinterested, as publick spirited as any in the Nation, concurred, chearfully concurred to that Support.

The best Times, the most unexceptionable Governments, were never exempt from Grievances, Complaints, Malecontents and Railers. Angry Men see nothing in a clear Light ; and such as are employed will be eternally maligned by such as are not : These in a Course of Time, and Opposition, and Reproach, will be considered as Sufferers and Martyrs, perhaps Martyrs for the publick Good. The People grow tired of their
old

old Magistrates, especially when these have been bitterly and long reviled by professed Patriots, who rise into popular Favour for that very reviling, which both they and the Multitude will agree to call *Zeal*.

Thus publick Disgusts begin, and thus increase and prosper, nor are the less powerful for being groundless; if some do but confidently assert them, and others eagerly believe them, to be well grounded.

From this Prepossession and Humour, every Step taken by publick Men will be decried and traduced, though ever so just, ever so necessary; and all Opposition, the most virulent and most ridiculous and unjust, will be popular and extolled; and the People, begrudging all reasonable and necessary and limited Power to their Governors, come to trust their angry and ambitious Favourites with Power beyond all Bounds; and as they are equally heated and misled by Fondness as by Rage, they grow as foolishly credulous as they are mistrustful, see nothing amiss on one Side, however partial, false, and even wicked, nothing good or tolerable on the other, however mild, moderate, and forgiving.

When the Opposition becomes thus violent, and is conducted by ambitious and aspiring Men, who have got Possession of

the Passions of the People ; as the best Measures taken by the Ministry will give most Offence and Uneasiness, such Measures will be most depreciated and abused. Then every publick Step taken is so much the worse for being good, and must of course be decried. The People must be rouzed ; hard Names must be called ; inflammatory Libels fly like Shot ; Slander is just ; Rage is Zeal ; personal Hate is publick Spirit ; and 'tis for the publick Interest to pour Invectives upon any one confidently said to be an Enemy to his Country. Whether he be so, or not, 'tis not the Law, nor the Prince, nor the Parliament, nor any of his natural Judges that must decide. He must fall a Victim to popular Clamour raised by a professed Adversary, an angry Rival, blinded by Resentment and other raging Passions, yet admitted to be at once the Evidence, the Accuser, and the Judge.

When he is retired, or banished, or dead, his Credit, (whilst he himself lived and acted) crushed with the violent Weight of Opposition, and blackned by continual Slander and Libels, will revive, and he that was the most decried Minister in his own Time, shall be quoted and applauded in future Times, as a Pattern to all Ministers.

Was

Was not, is not this the Character and the Lot of the great Lord *Burleigh*, the worthy Lord *Clarendon*, and of the late excellent Lord *Godolphin*? No Ministers were once more run down than they, more virulently opposed, or more the Butt of bitter Libels and popular Reproach. Such Heat and Injustice is long since over: Time and their own Innocence and Merit have retrieved to these Ministers their true Characters, of very able, very extraordinary Men: Parties that agree in little else, agree in praising them. Lord *Burleigh* is not now abused, nor even blamed for having acquired a great Estate; though it sometimes answers a Purpose to extol Lord *Godolphin* for neglecting it.

When we remember their Merit, as 'tis but just to do; the same Justice ought to carry us a little further; and remembering how they were pressed, opposed, libelled and grossly abused, we should take proper Warning, and not be over hasty to judge and censure living Ministers, whose Cause, nay whose Characters and Abilities are as good as theirs. Let us particularly always despise, and scorn to be led by popular Clamour and the fierce Declamations of Libellers.

These Retailers of Slander and Discontent

tent have so long triumphed in Licentiousness, that they seem to think none ought to write but themselves, none ought to vindicate even what appears ever so evidently just and right and absolutely necessary. Whilst they accept freely of all Helps to themselves and their Party, they will allow none to the Ministry, and profess open Enmity against all who concur with the Ministry.— I have not Leisure now, nor Room here to pursue this Subject as far as it would carry me.

A publick Incendiary and Libeller of the Government made himself so popular at *Rome*, even in her freest Times, that, as an extraordinary Licentiousness (the greatest Foe that ever publick and equal Liberty had in the World) sometimes forces a State to exercise extraordinary Powers, the *Roman* Senate found it absolutely necessary to create a Dictator, an Officer possessed of supreme arbitrary Power for the Time ! He who was now created made quick and good Use of his, and consequently was soon in a Condition to resign. He summoned this publick Slanderer, who meant nothing less than, by making the Administration odious to the People, to master the State and make himself a Tyrant : The Dictator summoned him before the People, and

and there commanded him to make good his heavy Charge against the Government, or he must die for having raised it. This publick Slanderer who had forged the whole, and dealt only in scandalous Misrepresentations, shuffled in his Defence, could not make out a Tittle of his pompous Accusation, and was immediately seized and slain.

Such was the mischievous Use this Traitor had made of the Liberty of Speech so prevailing then in *Rome*.

I remember a remarkable Observation of Sir *John Temple* in his History of the *Irish* Rebellion, that when any Attempt was made in Parliament there to increase the Power of the Government, and provide for the further Security of that and the Protestant Interest, against the Designs and Spirit of the wild *Irish*, always embittered against the *English* and *Protestants*, and then particularly very insolent and bold and giving too much Cause for apprehending what quickly followed; the popular Men in Parliament, particularly the popish Lawyers, made such strong Opposition, and, in warm Strains in Favour of publick Liberty, declaimed so much and so zealously against all such Restraints, that no proper Precautions, or not enow, could be taken. Thus that Nation was drawn into the entire Loss
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of Liberty and a bloody Rebellion, and the Protestants into universal Massacre, by the boisterous sound of Liberty ill understood.

Our daily Teachers in Politicks speak of Places and Men in Place with so much Scorn (or rather, I doubt, from another very different Passion) that I cannot help saying a Word upon this Point to the People whom they strangely abuse.

Will they say that the Crown ought not to have the Distribution of Places depending upon the Crown? Who else should? It is the Right of the Crown placed in it by the Constitution.— Will they say, will any of them say, that were they in Place, they would give up the Right of the Crown to confer Places? Can they say, that they would or could thus serve the Crown, were they in the Service of the Crown? Do they declare this to their Followers? And do they themselves, or do their Followers declare against accepting of Places? And would it not be to strip and impoverish, and even to overthrow the Crown, to divest it of such an essential Prerogative? It might perhaps be not impertinent to add here, that the Fox in the Fable began then only to rail at the Sourness of the Grapes, when he had failed in all his earnest Attempts to reach and enjoy them.

It

It is therefore great want of Candour, and a gross Abuse upon the People, as well as upon Gentlemen in Employments, to represent Places (without which no Government can subsist) as the Motives and Wages of Corruption. --- This Abuse is the more shameful, if it proceed from those that want Places. Such Cases have happened. I shall mention one or two.

Who distressed King *William's* whole Reign, lay heavy upon all his most necessary and publick spirited Measures, and embarrassed his best Counsels, but Men out of Place and wanting to get in ? Who traduced, libelled, and even impotently impeached (I had almost said *impudently*, for they had nothing but Malice and Falshood to support their ridiculous Impeachment) that great Luminary of Justice and the Law Lord *Somers*, the brave Lord *Orford*, those able Ministers Lord *Halifax* and Lord *Portland*, but designing and unjust Men who wanted their Employments ?

Who tarnished all the Glories of the late Queen's Reign, libelled and hunted down the immortal Duke of *Marlborough*, the excellent Lord Treasurer *Godolphin*, the equally excellent Lord Chancellor *Cowper*, with other able Men, the great Ornaments and Supports of that Administration ? Who but

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their Rivals and Opponents, zealous to remove and succeed them, and therefore indefatigably blackening all their Actions, vilifying their Persons and Services, exposing them to the Rage and Abhorrence of the Crowd ? To this End they scattered false Reports, misled and alarmed the scrupulous and weak, raised seditious Tumults, and desperately risked the Safety of the State.

Who raised that dreadful Ferment, that furious and devilish Spirit of Disaffection in the Beginning of the late King's Reign ? Who then worked up the Populace to Madness and a Flame, and poured black Invectives and the coarsest Scurrilities upon the Ministry, without even sparing the Royal Family ? Who then encouraged universal Perjury and High Treason, and in Consequence a horrid and unnatural Rebellion ? Who but they whom that Prince (having had but few Marks of their Affection to his Person and House) had dismissed from his Service without further Injury to them or to any of his Subjects ; for as his Government was exact and legal, there was not a Colour for Opposition, much less for Rebellion ? Who endangered the very Being of the Government by wantonly rebelling against it, but such as opposed the Government, under the Mask of Liberty ?

Who

Who furiously forced the Government to raise Armies, and then modestly inveighed against Armies as fatal to Liberty, but they who thus boldly prostituted the Sound of Liberty effectually to destroy the Substance?

Remarkable was the Candour and Declaration of an able Senator and honourable Citizen in a great Assembly not long ago, that, " of all Opposers, they who " wanted Places, or had been turned out " of Place, were the most implacable and " violent."

Malecontents have many Advantages over Ministers. Ministers cannot always disclose, nor even own many of their best Designs, at least till they are executed, and must in the mean while leave their Conduct to be examined, canvassed and represented (fairly or foully) by the Busy and Malignant. Malecontents may raise Tumults, Disaffection and Uproar with such Art and Secrecy as not to be called to account; such is the popular Force of dark Hints and malicious Whispers, with the vulgar Itch of malicious Jokes upon Superiors, and the natural Bent to Credulity and Suspicion wherever the Interests of Men are concerned and their Hearts alarmed.

Incendiaries need prove nothing: They need only aver and misrepresent confident-

ly. Be their Assertions ever so bold and strange; be their Misrepresentations ever so monstrous, there will be always some, often too many, ready to believe them, and to take all that they say for candid and true.

Ministers on the contrary must produce their Warrants and Vouchers when they are called upon, and be these Vouchers ever so authentick, it is odds but they pass for insufficient in the Language of their Opponents, and in the Opinion of all influenced by such.

It requires great Candour and Probity to lead and direct the Vulgar, under which Name I comprehend the Ignorant of every Station and Quality. Partial Men heated by Passion or Disgust, are not fit for this Task, though they who generally undertake it are such Men.

Thus the Multitude, instead of being well informed, are generally grossly mistaught, so as not to perceive the plainest Truth on one Side, yet to believe the most incredible Falshood on the other. Whilst they are under such Delusion, so obstinately blind, yet convinced that they see clearly and judge fairly, following implicitly and railing at Random, What one Matter of State, or indeed of any Moment, is to be trusted to their Opinion or Determination, espe-

especially when they are already industriously prepossessed against it, or certainly will be?

Would any Rival to a Minister submit any Point of Interest or Consequence to the Decision of the Friends and Followers of that Minister, a Point in which the Interest of the Minister, and the Interest of his Rival, directly interfered, a Point too about which the Minister had used all Arts and Pains to misguide and enflame them? Ought the Minister then to be determined by a Crowd gained and incensed by his Rival?

In our present Transactions with *Spain*, about which so many are angry, is there one in a Thousand who knows one Word of the Matter? They are heated about taking our Ships and ill-using our Men; which are indeed heavy Sufferings; but they never once consider, that in a War, the most successful War, we must suffer more in three Months (take the Expence and Danger together) than we have suffered from *Spain* in Twenty Years; and that after Twenty Years War, we must do as we do now, treat at last.

The Crowd must not be suffered to know, that many Tuns of Logwood, and even the Ears, or even the Life of a Man (whatever Compassion he deserves) are not
worth

worth a general War, where Millions of Money must be spent, where Myriads of Men must suffer and perish, perhaps without one Advantage gained at last but what may be gained now.

In spite of popular Folly and Frenzy ; in spite of flaming Demagogues and raging Invectives, of the loud Menaces and secret Arts of Party ; in spite of all the Power of Opposition, of confident Prophecy, and of the most unnatural Confederacies, agreeing in no one Plan but that of over-turning and destroying ; in spite of the best Oratory and the worst ; of all Aggravations, all Misrepresentations, and of all Efforts to alarm and provoke and confound, the Ministry still stands and prospers, protected by their own Innocence and Merit, and by the Steadiness and Generosity of a gracious Master, who hath long experienced their Capacity and Faithfulness, and is aware that, were he to part with his Ministers, as often as they are decried and opposed, he must change his Ministry as often as the Moon changes.

Honour calls upon all Men to defend just Measures, and the Authors of them. Experience teaches all Men how little Regard is due to the miserable and narrow Notions of the Vulgar ; and to the tragical Declamations and even Denunciations of such as lead them,
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for the most Part blindfold. It is a sufficient, it is a conscientious and therefore a powerful Motive with me to defend them, not only because I find, that they can be easily and honestly defended, but because I believe in my Soul, and in some Measure know, that they have done and are doing their utmost and their best for their Country, which by way of Acknowledgment is taught, indeed incited, to hate them.

From this Principle, I think myself fully justified in justifying them, and I am hearty in doing it, as I do it from Conviction. I have attacked no Man's Person. He that has Reason on his Side, wants no Aid from railing ; and he that Rails shews a manifest want, either of a good Capacity, or of a good Cause, and always of good Breeding, and an equitable Spirit.

The Sum of all is this : Upon certain Points of Complaint and Animosity between *England* and *Spain*, the *English* Ministry, zealous to prevent the heavy Evils and Calamities of War, agree upon a Convention with the Ministers of *Spain*. A Treaty is necessary to prevent a War ; a Convention is the necessary Basis and Introduction to a Treaty. The Enemies of the Ministry and their Followers raise an Uproar against this Convention, for no better Reason that I can find,

find, than that it is not what it cannot be, namely the Treaty itself, which is intended to follow it.

This is an Imputation as absurd as 'tis unjust, but serves to raise an Alarm amongst such as know no Distinction between a Treaty, which is the Superstructure, and a Convention which is the Foundation.

In this Convention such Concessions are made as never were made, even by any past Treaty with the *Spanish* Nation, and therefore give hopes that the succeeding Treaty will be more advantageous than all that are past. This, I doubt, is with many a sufficient Reason for crying down and vilifying the Measures taken, lest the Authors of them should, by saving the Nation, gain Strength and Credit to themselves.

A Convention is settled in order to conclude a Treaty; a Treaty is to be concluded in order to prevent a War. Is there any better Method? Even by this Convention new Advantages are gained to the *British* Nation, and not a Tittle of the *British* Rights is given up. What more is to be expected from a Preliminary?



F I N I S.